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Castro's Submission to Russia Complete

While Fidel Castro struts on the world stage as a leader of the nonaligned nations, he has transformed Cuba into a Soviet colony dependent upon and subservient to Moscow. The remorseless Russians, in turn, are using Cuba as a military base in flagrant violation of the Monroe Doctrine.

This will be denied, of course, in both Moscow and Havana. Castro, according to one intelligence appraisal, is "highly sensitive to charges that he is a Soviet puppet." His denials, therefore, are usually emphatic, with a great flailing of arms and snorting of cigar smoke. Or as another secret appraisal puts it, Castro "possesses a tropical temper."

He has vowed impassionately: "Never has the Soviet Union — which has given such decisive aid to our people — approached us to demand anything from us, to set forth a condition, to tell us what we must do." But this is disputed by intelligence reports, including intercepts of actual conversations between Castro and his Soviet superiors. He toes the Soviet line scrupulously; the rare exceptions are allowed by the Kremlin for the sake of his nonaligned image.

Declares an intelligence analysis: "Cuban submission [to the Soviet Union] has been complete." This appraisal, classified "Top Secret Umbra," describes Castro's support of the Kremlin as "a careful mixture of adulation, confidence and ostensible humility intended to defend Moscow from its ideological antagonists and to assure the Soviets of Cuba's loyalty."

Castro hasn't always been so pliable. The study notes that he is "the same firebrand who years ago had not hesi-

tated to challenge Moscow on virtually any ideological tenet..." But the differences that "strained Cuban-Soviet relations so severely years ago," the report adds, "are no longer even minor irritants."

It contends that "the brash young Caribbean rebel of the mid-1960s has been replaced by the mature, responsible, self-critical member of the [Soviet] team; as a result, bilateral relations have never been better." The study concludes that "Castro is clearly pleased with the trend of recent events, with his relations with Moscow, with the prestige his troops in [Africa] have earned for him."

The colorful Cuban has carefully refrained, however, from direct military intervention in the Americas. Explains another secret intelligence report: "Castro supported Latin American insurgents almost indiscriminately in the 1960s, despite the strain it created in his relations with Moscow, but he apparently now accepts the Soviet view that Latin America is not yet ripe for armed revolution."

"Castro reportedly also agreed in mid-1975 that any future support for armed insurgency would be channeled through the local pro-Soviet communist parties. The Cuban and Soviet focus at the present time is on expanding state-to-state relations and on encouraging of the development abroad 'anti-imperialist' fronts."

Using this back-door approach, the Soviet-Cuban axis has sought, first, to destabilize and then to subvert Guatemala and El Salvador. The Soviet aim, according to intelligence reports, is to establish Marxist governments on the edge of the fabulous new Mexican oil

fields. The Russians hope to use these countries as bases to harass the oil fields in case the United States shifts its oil dependence from the Persian Gulf to the Gulf of Mexico.

"Castro has [also] devoted considerable effort," states another secret report, "toward reinforcing his relations with English-speaking Caribbean leaders, especially in Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago which belong to the nonaligned movement."

Indeed, Castro has set his sights on the U.S. territory of Puerto Rico, itself, declaring that he "will never abandon his brother Puerto Ricans." Declares a top secret report: "Havana has continued to press its campaign for Puerto Rican independence."

The Soviets, meanwhile, are using Cuba as a military base, with combat troops, fighter planes and reconnaissance aircraft stationed there. Since April 1970, the Russians have kept a close watch on the South Atlantic by flying reconnaissance missions out of Cuba and Guinea, both Soviet-dominated states on opposite sides of the Atlantic. A top secret report notes that the Russians "have clearly demonstrated that the airfields in Havana and Conakry are integral elements of Soviet contingency planning."

The Soviets also direct submarine and intelligence operations out of Cuba. Soviet monitoring installations in Cuba are capable of intercepting U.S. overseas telephone calls. The latest intelligence reports also warn that the Soviets are planning nuclear construction in Cuba and that Soviet combat troops now in Cuba were trained in East Germany to protect nuclear installations.